11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

children of the poor. At birth, the son of a rich man was placed upon an otter or a weasel skin. The poor man's child had to be content with a buckskin bag. Pointed Plume was initiated to many ceremonial objects for which large and handsome payments were made. The list is impressive: forelock of the Long Time Pipe; weasel-tail suit, a partnership in the Horn Society when he was only fourteen years old, and many ceremonial paintings to insure long life and prosperity. He was rarely permitted to leave his home and was never entrusted to any white school.

Ned Sloane, the son of a white father and an Indian mother who died when he was born, could boast of no such honorings. Deserted by his one remaining parent, the boy spent his childhood in the care of his Indian grandmother, visiting from relative to relative. "All of them treated me like a son," he said, but none gave him any substantial gift—not even his famous uncle Long Tail-feathers, owner of many powers, though Ned and his grandmother shared his home for years. At the tender age of seven, the youngster was sent to the Dunbow Industrial School, more than a hundred miles from the reserve. In the eleven years he "studied" there, he had four visitors.

Each member of a men's society hailed his fellow-member as *taka*, a term of friendship that frequently implied a greater degree of affection and loyalty than was lavished upon a close relative. Even after the buffalo had disappeared and the hunt was a thing of the past, these societies persisted; they still remain a great force for solidarity among the Blood. But within their membership social differences are clearly recognised. It was the rich men's sons who became the leaders because they could buy the more expensive bundles.[10]

Long before they were eligible for membership in such organizations, young children were well aware of age differences. Very consciously, they sought their playmates within a limited group. But even within this group, the children of the rich formed an inner clique which set them off as a snobbish elite and at the same time protected them from the envious assaults of their less fortunate comrades; not unexpectedly they chose their *taka* or special friend from their own social stratum. Pointed Plume says,

> I had a number of boy playmates. They were *minipoka* like me. Buffalo Horn was my special comrade, but Wolf Tail and Painted Arrow were also close friends.
>
> Buffalo Horn, like me, was a *minipoka* and the only boy in the family. It was much easier to play with another *minipoka*, for when we were teased by the gang, I and Buffalo Horn could stick together. Also my family felt that Buffalo Horn was a fit companion for me. He came of a wealthy family and was a favorite son.

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[10] Maximilian, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, p. 286, for the buffalo period.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

433 change in the fabric of their tribal life. The excessive cold practically
731 annihilated the cattle herds.[140] At one stroke, the accumulated capital of
231 the herders was wiped out. For the farmers the blow was temporary; they
434 still had their land, and after the difficult years a good income, although a smaller one, could again be derived from wheat. But a herd could not be replaced in a day, or in a year. Most of the old breeders gave up in despair. The wheat farmers bought up the cattle that survived.

Pointed Plume, scion of one of those chiefly families that had been ambitious enough to farm as well as herd, says,

425 Then in 1919 the winter was very severe. The Government feared for the cattle
231 and horses on the range, and the cattle were driven into a cow camp to protect them.
[731] In spite of all our care, most of the cattle starved. I had only two left. But the still
[435] high price for wheat made it possible for me to buy more. Weasel White Buffalo,
[874] my wife's father,[141] said to me, "You are very foolish to raise cattle. You may be wiped out again." But I went ahead. Other Indians who had only a few remaining cows were glad to sell them to me, and when the Dunbow Industrial School was discontinued, I bought up their herd for something like $300. I paid in wheat money and horses, one horse or $30 for a cow and a calf. Today I and my two sons have 160 head of cattle.

231 The loss of cattle in the cold winters of 1919 and 1920 meant the loss of
556 all cash income to the herders; but enough horses remained[142] to carry on the traditional exchange and purchase. Again on relief the erstwhile herders still achieved prestige in the old way, but with this difference: the horse was no longer the chief symbol of wealth. The agency was quick to recognize this. Horse exchanges and payments are not entered in the official books, but transactions in wheat and cattle are duly recorded. For the first time in more than a century, the man with horses was not necessarily the
[575] rich man. Yet he continued to buy eagerly, even compulsively, into societies although he could not always complete the purchase. He might join
[424] the Horn Society, four times, six times, eight times, but in spite of such constant validation, his position became less secure. He still got "respect" but "respect" worn thin because it was not bolstered by real wealth. Then, as now, real wealth was in the hands of those men who had gone into farming around 1910.

434 Never again did cattle herding approach its former peak or popularity.
657 In 1930, there were only 1300 head of cattle on the reserve, less than one-

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[140] According to the 1922 report, Vol. 8, No. 27, p. 50, only 1376 head remained.

[141] The father of Pointed Plume's third wife.

[142] The number of horses affected by the cold was considerably less than the number of cattle. A clue to this situation is given by Hudson (*op. cit.*, p. 31). He writes: "The horses would first break the crust of snow with their hoofs and eat the top of the grass. After which the other animals could get at the remaining stalks."

464 precisely the median age of steady earners in the rural sample (41.9).
128 Fourteen full-time workers are males, eight are females. The median age of all earners, seasonal and permanent, is somewhat lower (34.5) than for steady earners alone. The youngest earners are generally the seasonal earners.

814 Six steady earners received job training from the military, BIA,
464 colleges or special schools. Of these six, five are engaged in occupa-
128 tions for which their training prepared them. The median income of
[434] steady earners is $4,750, for seasonal earners the median is $700, and for the sample of all earners the median is $2,785. The median years of
464 educational and vocational training (public schools, special training,
811 college attendance, etc.) for steady earners is eleven years, while the
128 median for seasonal earners is 8.5 years. Education is not a particularly important factor in determining full employment as the following 2 x 2 contingency table (Table 24) demonstrates. I use eleven years of training and education to determine the distribution above and below the median.

465 The tested relationship is not significant. A further test
182 demonstrates the over-riding influence of length of employment on in-
128 come amount, as Table 25 indicates. Furthermore, length of employment and racial composition are significantly associated, as Table 26 shows. And finally, I test for racial composition and amount of earned income (Table 27). Here the relationship is once again a strong one, although not quite as strong as in the previous table.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 144]

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Table 24

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FULL EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING, AND EDUCATION, 35 BROWNING EARNERS, 1967, 1968, AND 1970

	11 or More Years of Schooling	Less than 11 Years of Schooling	
Full Employment	11	11	22
Less than Full Employment	4	9	13
	15	20	35

$r_c = .037$; $X^2 = 1.98$, P .20

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

Have these needs inferred by whites actually been satisfied? No, because despite rations, rent-free houses, educational opportunities, a hospital, and old-age pensions, we still find many instances of behaviour showing that these needs still exist. In spite of rations, the largest fraction of Blackfoot income goes for groceries. Blackfoot still build houses for themselves even though they have already been provided with houses. Some Blackfoot have paid for courses in technical schools in Calgary, a few leave the reserve to attend boarding-schools, while others have sought to enter the town schools. Though the sick frequently go to the Blackfoot hospital, others hire the services of medicine-men or white physicians in neighbouring towns. Few Indians cease to work at fifty when they first receive old-age benefits. Thus we may infer that despite the presence of means satisfying their needs, these needs are not fully satisfied. At best the trust fund helps diminish the urgency of some of them.

A somewhat tender-minded visitor who was acquainted with the existing economic structure might come away from the reserve with a different impression. He might be struck with the difference in the Indian's standard of living as compared with the white's. The houses are small, frequently in rather poor repair. In some places the wells are dry, and Indians must travel to the river, a distance of several miles, to obtain water. Wood for fires must also be gathered at this distance. Sanitary facilities are often dirty, in poor repair, and sometimes lacking. Interiors are sometimes unkempt, bedding patched, and not too clean. Furnishings are adequate in some houses, but in others there may be little more than a mattress in the corner for a bed. Modern conveniences practically do not exist: only one house has running water; three houses have electricity. Though a fair sprinkling of hand-driven washing and sewing machines exists, other households seem to lack even soap and thread. A few men own automobiles, but most travel by horse and wagon. As compared with middle-class whites, there is obviously a lower standard of living among the Indians on the reserve.

Do the Blackfoot feel a need for an improved standard of living? An unqualified answer cannot be given. Certain improvements seem to be rather universally desired, while others are seldom referred to. Judging by the activity shown in these directions, Blackfoot would like more food, better clothing, warmer housing, and larger amounts of furnishings. Many informants went to the nearest store as soon

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

dispatch the young from the room. As a result the old and the young tend to stay apart. The young band together for their own amusements where they may lampoon the older men and dismiss their sacred bundles as museum relics, which they would be glad to sell for cash. Seldom does one find older people at pool halls or hand games where young men gather. All conclaves of old men are sedulously avoided by the young. The oft-repeated stories of war and camp life in buffalo days are not only dull to young ears but so strange as to be unbelievable. Similarly, ceremonials and religious dances are defined as events for "old-timers," and the young occupy themselves elsewhere. When contact is unavoidable, the young remain respectfully silent or depart as unobtrusively as possible.

Though beset with difficulties, the path is clear. The young must keep apart and identify themselves more with white ways. In this direction some have attempted to advance their status by attending technical schools. Despite inadequate preparation in the reserve schools a few have succeeded in completing one or more of the courses. Yet once out of school with certificate in hand there are few opportunities to apply their knowledge. Even should their competence be recognized, Indians, who are supported by tax money, are, according to many whites, ineligible to compete with tax-paying citizens for jobs. On the reserve there is little encouragement to use these resources, for jobs requiring technical skills are filled by white employees. Should a reserve tractor need repair, the white mechanic is summoned from town. Thus, despite all desires, the young man is rejected by his model.

The devotee of white ways may still persist though confined to the reserve for the achievement of his goal, yet even in this limited sphere affairs are difficult. The council of chiefs with its positions held by older men is frequently out of touch with the exigencies of farming. For instance, only after many years was the complaint of the farmers heard, that a single team of horses tired too quickly to plough the fields in the time allotted. Then the council granted farmers two teams of horses. The uncertainties of income, however, are the greatest frustration, for every poor year brings the young men closer to the circumstances of the caricatured old Indian. Then as he gives up his hard-earned symbols of white culture and is forced to seek an alternative, he slowly comes to question the values for which he has been striving. If his child dies, his faith in the protection of white medicine and Christianity is shaken. If his livestock

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

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Students of the Calgary Industrial School in 1897. The Old Man, then seventeen years old, is second from right in the back row. To his left is his instructor, Charles Pippy. Most of the boys in the picture are from the North Blackfoot, North Piegan, and Sarsi reserves. In the center are Rev. and Mrs. Hogbin. Next to Mrs. Hogbin is Charlie Goodrider. Second from the right in front row is Percy Creighton. (Glenbow Archives)

[p.12-B]

ried a young warrior named Scraping White, who already had one wife and three children. When Scraping White's oldest daughter saw her new little brother she told her mother, "I like my new brother—I want his name to be Napi." So he was called Napi, "Old Man." Many years later he took the name of his original father, Wolf Old Man. On the tribe records his name is Willie Scraping White, and it was by this name that he was called during the three years that he attended the Calgary Industrial School in the 1890s.

"No, I didn't get much schooling at that place," he once told us, "because the instructors thought that a fellow my size would be more use to them out in the fields than in the classroom. I'm glad," he said with a smile, "because I liked the outdoors much better than the insides of buildings." The Old Man speaks only very broken English and he never did learn to read or write. But he did become the school's star football player. He used to tuck his long braids up under his helmet. "When I came back to the reserve the kids wanted me to teach them how to play, and the girls sure admired me when I passed the ball a long ways," he said with a combined look of pride and embarrassment. He was usually too modest to tell of his personal accomplishments. Unfortunately, several accidents while playing football and ice hockey weakened his knees. "Better to have weak knees than a weak mind," he sometimes said to console himself. After three years in the school's fields he finally decided to ask how much longer he would have to stay. "I never knew that I was allowed to ask the principal such a question," he said, "so I felt pretty foolish when he told me that I was free to go whenever I wanted. I packed up pretty fast and left." He was also one of the first students at St. Paul's Anglican School, on the Blood Reserve, though he did not stay long.

The Old Man learned much about our Old Ways from his stepfather, Scraping White, who was Owner of many sacred Medicines and knew

[p.13-A]